LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of Left Unity

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NEW HORIZONS — The Editor

SCOTLAND & THE COMMON MARKET
Jim Sillars MP

UNEMPLOYMENT—OUR BATTLE
Ken Gill

WILLIAM MORRIS IN THE YEAR OF THE COMMUNE
Ray Watkinson

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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Notes of the Month

NEW HORIZONS

'History teaches us that enmities between nations, as between individuals, do not last forever. However fixed our likes and dislikes may seem, the tide of time and events will often bring surprising shifts in the relations between nations and neighbours . . .

'Let us re-examine our attitude towards the Soviet Union . . .

'Let us re-examine our attitude towards the cold war.'

President JOHN KENNEDY, speech, June 10, 1963; assassinated November 12, 1963.

November 8, 1971

The tide of history cannot be finally defeated, whatever the rocks and boulders in its course. When President Kennedy proposed eight years ago a reorientation of American foreign policy, to turn away from the cold war and towards a new relationship with the Soviet Union, his assassination followed at the hands of the forces of American reaction, with a strong implication of the role of the CIA, just as President Roosevelt, entering on the path of Teheran and Yalta, was felled by mortal sickness and death at the height of his life's work before he could complete it. Just as Roosevelt was followed by the execrable Truman to undo his work, raise high the battlements of the cold war, rearm German militarism and constitute the war alliance of Nato, so Kennedy was followed by the now universally condemned Lyndon Johnson to drag the United States and East Asia through the blood and barbaric horrors of the indefensible war of invasion of Vietnam. The attorney Nixon won his spurs as the most ruthless and unscrupulous protagonist of the anti-communist war drive and the witch-hunt to harry, slander and persecute all on the left. Today President Nixon places in the forefront of his programme, as the main base of his appeal for re-election, his projected visits to Peking and Moscow. History exacts its revenge on those who try to block its path.

Threshold of a New Era

We have entered an era of far-reaching change in the entire spectrum of international relations. There can be no doubt of the

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main line of direction of present change, even though accompanied by many cross-currents, acute tension in key regions and the still far from banished menace of the explosion of major war. That main line of direction is demonstrating with increasing clearness that the decisive dynamic forces of the modern world situation are the forces of socialism and national liberation, and the advance of the peoples seeking progress and international co-operation. Imperialism is experiencing many defeats. The landmark victory of recognition of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations by the overwhelming vote of the majority of states in the world, with the simultaneous expulsion of the US-financed and armed Chiang satellite clique, long ago defeated by the Chinese people, represents an historic victory for socialism (irrespective of current differences of policy within the socialist camp, on which the short-term speculations of hostile critics seek to build, and which will be for the socialist peoples themselves to solve on the basis of the long-term common interests in the co-operation of all socialist countries making such a solution imperative). The decision represents a signal defeat for the reactionary imperialist policies which sought for 22 years to isolate the Chinese people's revolution, just as the United States had refused to recognise the Soviet Union for 16 years. This victory for socialism and the progressive peoples of the world was no sudden achievement of a majority, but represented the culminating outcome of 22 years of tenacious struggle in the United Nations conducted by the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries, by India (even during the unhappy experience of the border war) and all the progressive newly-independent countries against the US-dominated reactionary bloc which sought to distort the flag of the UN into a rubber stamp to cover its reactionary policies. The outcome of this long struggle of the progressive peoples was demonstrated finally this year when the bandwagon majority was hastily joined, despite US pressure, by states on which the US had counted for support, like Pakistan or Israel. This victory of the progressive forces in the UN was all the more conspicuous because at the same session the US proposal with regard to China was decisively defeated. Thus the shift in voting in the UN was a partial reflection of the changing balance in the world.

End of US Domination in the United Nations

The United States, while supporting this year for the first time the recognition of China's rights in the UN to fulfil its legitimate role as one of the five permanent powers in the Security Council,

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simultaneously sought to pursue its version of the 'Two Chinas' policy, by conducting a rearguard action for the maintenance of its satellite Chiang clique in the Assembly as the supposed representative of Taiwan. This was equivalent to a challenge to China's right of sovereignty in respect of Taiwan, and a demand for the revision of the long-standing universal recognition by all the powers, whether supporters of People's China or the Chiang clique, of Taiwan as part of China. Since the Chinese People's Republic had made it abundantly clear that there could be no question of accepting any participation in the UN on the basis of any such dual representation, and since the key aim of President Nixon's declaration of July 15 was the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, including recognition of China's rights in the UN, it might have been thought that the parallel demand for continued participation of the Chiang clique in the UN, the fulfilment of which demand would have defeated the main aim, was only a diplomatic gesture to maintain appearances in relation to an old satellite, with the certainty of defeat. But the campaign was not in fact conducted in this manner. The campaign for maintaining the unrepresentative Chiang clique in the UN was conducted, not only with a blaze of publicity, but with the use of every form of pressure, arm-twisting, financial offers or threats of withdrawing finance, in an extreme and unprecedented degree. On the very eve of the vote members of the American delegation were boasting of the precise figures of the majority they believed they had secured. When the result of the vote revealed the defeat of the American proposals, this defeat gave rise to unconcealed fury and threats of vengeance on the part of Nixon, while his close associates branded a series of named states as 'traitors'.

What Was Nixon's Strategy?

Why this obviously genuine fury? It is possible that Nixon had devised a characteristic double strategy: to secure a majority for the recognition of China's rights, but at the same time to secure a majority for the temporary blocking of the fulfilment of this decision, not in order to prevent the future participation of China in the UN, but to place in Nixon's hands a trump card when he visited Peking, to appear as the all-powerful patron offering his good offices to remove this obstacle, possibly by calling a special Assembly for the purpose, as part of a negotiated deal. The loss of this trump card caused the fury. In any case the net effect of this ill-judged campaign was that the US, instead of enjoying the credit

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of having reversed its previous policy of obstruction and united with the majority in sponsoring the recognition of China's rights in the UN, incurred at the very same session which carried the recognition of China's rights by a resounding majority a conspicuous public defeat—the heaviest defeat suffered by the US in the whole record of the United Nations. The era of domination of the United Nations by the United States was over, and rumblings of influential American spokesmen demanding to cut down the financial support of the US to the UN began to be sounded.

President Nixon's Miscalculations

The dilemmas of President Nixon in the present phase arise from the fact that he tries to ride two horses, and reality continually trips him up. On the one hand, he has endeavoured to advance from the old image to the role of world statesman; and indeed he has to his credit participation in a number of relatively progressive steps, in the field of agreements of limiting to some extent nuclear arms tests (despite the shocking effects of the Amchitka explosion), and the exercise of pressure to overcome Britain's resistance and put through the four-power agreement on West Berlin. But he is constantly let down by his other self, the continuing survival of 'Tricky Dick'. When on July 15, after the secret mission of Kissinger to Peking to negotiate with Chou En-lai, Nixon was able to make his sensational announcement to an astonished world proclaiming, not the collapse of the American policy of the boycott of China, but the triumphant new initiative of his projected visit to Peking, he and Kissinger were manifestly delighted with what they evidently considered to be a master-stroke. The American magazine *Time* of July 26 described the scene:

> Nixon and Kissinger, who had helicoptered together from the Western White House at San Clemente to make the announcement in the same Burbank studio where the slapstick *Laugh-In* show is taped, knew that the under-stated declaration had startled the world. With four aides, they skipped off in high spirits to Perino's fashionable Los Angeles restaurant, where Nixon gleefully shook hands with bystanders on the sidewalk and his party celebrated inside with a $40 bottle of Chateau Lafite Rothschild (1961) during dinner.

Thus it is clear from this scene that Nixon and Kissinger were highly jubilant over what they regarded as their successful stroke. But subsequent experience revealed that the realities of the world situation which they had to take into account made the grounds for their jubilation less certain than they at first imagined.

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United States, China and Vietnam

The grounds for this initial jubilation are not difficult to discern. First, Vietnam. At that moment President Nixon was finding himself in an impasse how to answer the seven-point peace plan put forward by the South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government on July 1. This Vietnam peace plan was winning wide support in the American press and popular opinion, since it included the release of all American prisoners of war among its very moderate and democratic proposals conditional on a specific date for the withdrawal of all the foreign invading troops. After the presentation of this peace plan on July 1 the US representative in Paris was declared ill and unable to attend the next session to answer. All the American press and the widest range of political spokesmen were clamouring for Nixon to give his reply to this peace plan whose fulfilment would bring home the American prisoners of war. Then on July 15, following the secret mission of Kissinger to Peking to negotiate with Chou En-lai, Nixon was able to make his bombshell announcement of agreement with China for his projected visit to Peking. This sensation at once won the entire attention of the press and public, temporarily pushing the Vietnam peace plan into the background. Thus the ploy of the announcement at this juncture of successful negotiations with China for a visit, and all the new perspectives which this opened, helped for a brief moment to get Nixon off the hook in respect of his failure to respond to the Vietnam peace plan. But only for a moment. The nightmare of the American protracted war in Vietnam and Indo-China; the war which the American strategic leaders have proved equally incapable of winning or ending; the hollow mockery of 'Vietnamisation'; the combination of professed intentions to withdraw (the latest announcement proclaimed the plan to reduce US combat troops in Vietnam to 'only' 184,000 by December 1, 1971*) with actual enlargement of the range of operations and intensification of bombing and criminal destruction—all this infamy still clamours to be ended, through the combination of the heroic struggle of the Vietnam people with the support of increasingly wide sections of the American people and of the peoples all over the world. If Nixon imagined that his going to China would help to solve for him his problem in Vietnam, he was indulging in a fantasy. The unqualified public statements of the

* Since this was written President Nixon has announced his plan for further withdrawals to bring down the total to 'only' 139,000 US invading troops on February 1, 1972, with the accompanying 'warning' that 'air power will continue to be used longer than our ground forces.'

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Chinese Government and people, as of the Soviet Government and people, of all the socialist countries, and of the progressive peoples all over the world, in support of the independence struggle of the Vietnam people are known to all and have found expression in many forms of solidarity and practical support. But the responsibility to end the infamy of the American war of aggression in Indo-China is the responsibility of the US Government and people, and no negotiation conducted apart from the people of Vietnam can lift this responsibility from them.

The United States, Soviet Union and China

The second ground which the evidence of accompanying semi-official and unofficial comment and interpretation indicated as having contributed to the extreme jubilation of Nixon and Kissinger over their announcement of July 15 was the belief that they had accomplished a highly successful diplomatic stroke to take advantage of the divisions in the socialist camp to establish a special relationship with that socialist Government which was most vociferously proclaiming hostility to the Government and policies of the Soviet Union. Certainly the actual text of President Nixon's announcement was in form scrupulously correct, with its insistence that 'our action in seeking a new relationship with the People's Republic of China will not be at the expense of our old friends; it is not directed against any other nation'. But unofficial comment was less reticent. The same issue of the magazine *Time* which described the jubilant scene of the July 15 announcement, added a subsequent comment that 'Moscow' is 'the power that stands to lose most from any collaboration between its two principal antagonists.' In diplomatic circles in other countries it was noted, and the observation was published in influential journals, that the announcement of the coming visit to Peking was not accompanied by an announcement of any plan to visit Moscow. Thus experience after the jubilation of July 15 brought the realisation of the necessity to correct this impression of a one-sided alignment, especially at a time when important and fruitful negotiations were developing with the Soviet Union, as shown in the bilateral agreement reached on September 30 for reciprocal special precautionary measures to prevent accidental nuclear war. On October 12, nearly three months after the July 15 announcement, President Nixon announced that after his visit to Peking he would be journeying to Moscow for a summit meeting to bring to fruition many important projects under negotiation and now ripe for such a summit meeting. It is not surprising that the West German press

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commented: 'This is nothing more or less than a complete about-turn in US policy' (*Kieler Nachrichten*, October 14).

United States and the United Nations

The most serious miscalculation of President Nixon in the international situation was his failure to realise that he could no longer count on the support of a sufficient number of client states to provide a pliant majority in the United Nations. In the early days the attempts of American policy to secure a UN cover for its acts of aggression were defeated by the Charter, which required that any decision for action could only be taken by a majority of the Security Council with the concurrence of all five permanent members; and the firm stand of the Soviet Union for peace and against aggression blocked the way against such misuse of the UN. The only apparent exception, the alleged Security Council's sanction for the US war in Korea in 1950, was in fact an illegal resolution, slipped through after the hostilities planned by Dulles and Acheson had already been opened, and illegal because it did not have the necessary concurrence of the five permanent members, having been slipped through at a moment when the Soviet Union had absented itself as a gesture of solidarity with the Chinese People's Republic in protest against its exclusion. Unable to control the Security Council, the US had recourse to the strategem of securing the adoption by the Assembly of an illegal resolution in violation of the Charter, empowering the Assembly to take decisions for executive action in the name of the UN, when such decisions could only be valid with the sanction of the Security Council. At that time the US was still able to command a subservient majority in the Assembly, and consequently to play off the Assembly against the Security Council. But during the subsequent period the extending victories of political independence of formerly dependent peoples have altered the composition of the Assembly, undermining the former automatic reactionary majority of the imperialist powers and those subservient to them. A new majority has developed in which the most active of the newly-independent Afro-Asian and Caribbean states, in alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, have been able to carry significant positive anti-imperialist resolutions, revealing the imperialist powers and their clients as a defeated reactionary minority. The advance to a majority last year for recognition of the rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the UN (only held up from fulfilment because the US was still able to carry a decision defining the issue as an 'important question' requiring a two-thirds

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majority) was a sign of this change of relative strength in the Assembly. Yet despite this plain evidence President Nixon, while switching to the support of the recognition of China's rights, still launched his public campaign with a high degree of pressure to secure a majority for his 'Two Chinas' formulation. The strategy underlying this campaign we have already discussed. Whatever the strategy, the final effect was to bring to the attention of the whole world the conspicuous public defeat of the US, the collapse of US dominance in the UN, and the new balance in international relations.

Mathematical Theories of Politics

Political commentators have analysed this new phase of international relations in terms of the former balance of two leading powers having now become three, by the recognition of China's international rights; or possibly four, in view of Japan having become at present the third in the world scale in its industrial production, with a wide range in the Pacific and potential future military development; or even five, according to the advocates of the at the moment sorely divided European Economic Community as a potential 'super-power'. On this basis all kinds of calculations are offered on the effect of 'bipolarity' being replaced by triangles or quadrilaterals or any other geometrical fantasy. But the subjects of these calculations are not arithmetical digits or geometrical designs. All these mathematical calculations only conceal the real international alignment today. Just as the theories of 'super-powers' and 'convergence' concealed the class realities of the choice between socialism and capitalism, so now the new theories of international relations in terms of geometrical figures conceal the vitally necessary understanding of the real alternatives of international alignment today. The real immediate current international alignment is between those states and peoples which work for peace and international co-operation on the basis of the rights of national independence of all peoples; oppose wars of aggression and demand restoration of the fruits of aggression; seek to replace sectional military alliances by wider international agreements within the orbit of the United Nations; work for effective measures of disarmament and abolition of nuclear weapons; strive for international economic co-operation to assist the advance of the disinherited peoples to becoming possessors of and develop their own resources—and on the other side, those states and political forces which uphold wars of intervention, the retention by aggressors of the fruits of aggression, sectional military alliances and the imperialist economic structure which

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leads to deprivation of the 'third world'. All these far-reaching questions of international relations come to the forefront today.

Europe's Testing Time

Nowhere is this beginning of the break up of old fixed forms and emergence of new constructive initiatives more manifest than in the ancient battleground of Europe, so long the central base of confrontation and testing area of East-West relations. In the days of the domination of Adenauer and Strauss in the Federal Republic of Germany with the backing of the big monopolists who had backed Hitler, with the rearmament of German militarism to constitute the strongest military force of the Nato anti-Soviet alliance, and functioning as the faithful strong-arm men of Anglo-American reaction, nothing could have seemed more inflexible than the cold war division of Europe on this basis, with American finance and troops of occupation to maintain it, with refusal to recognise the existence of the German Democratic Republic, and the Hallstein Doctrine to block any development of closer East-West relations. Yet today, though the forces represented by Strauss and Springer are still active and dangerous, Chancellor Brandt has replaced the bankruptcy of this negative policy with his Ostpolitik, has signed treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, and accepted the principles of the four power agreement on West Berlin, with consequent negotiations now proceeding between the two German states, and the perspective of both becoming members of the United Nations.

Programme for Co-operation

Following his visit to the Crimea, the Brezhnev-Brandt communiqué has outlined a comprehensive programme for regular consultation and co-operation, for developing the *détente* in Europe and for the convening of the European Security Conference and the mutual reduction of armaments. Similarly, just as France led the way in compelling the removal of the American troops and bases, limiting its involvement in the military machinery of Nato and developing close relations with the Soviet Union, so the character of the state reception of General Secretary Brezhnev in Paris and the ensuing Brezhnev-Pompidou communiqué opened new objectives of co-operation, including a concrete programme for a preparatory conference in Helsinki to lead to the European Security Conference in 1972. These are the living new forces of advance in Europe, alongside many other significant initiatives and new contacts in other parts of the world, and all related to the far-sighted programme

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for international co-operation presented by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February. And these new initiatives and advances towards progressive co-operation in Europe as a whole are taking place at the very time when the 'Little Europe' of the Common Market or European Economic Community, founded in the period of the division of Europe, is torn with dissensions between its main partners and is going through, in the words of its own spokesmen, the heaviest crisis and economic deterioration since its inception.

Isolation of Tory Britain

The Tory Government, having refused to face the electorate on its key policy for which it has no electoral mandate, and having won its parliamentary majority in the critical vote of October 28 only by the aid of Labour renegades, now speaks of its policy to bring Britain 'into Europe'. There could be no more fantastic falsehood. By 'Europe' they do not mean the real living Europe which is pressing forward along the path of East-West co-operation. They mean the 'Little Europe' of a combination of a minority of European states, not even all the West European capitalist states, but the West European capitalist states associated with Nato, forged in the conditions of the East-West division of Europe, the economic cold war heir of Hitler's 'New Order in Europe', of Munich and Locarno, and representing, in the revealing words of Premier Heath in his speech on May 19, the means to achieve 'what Napoleon and Hitler failed to achieve'. So far from bringing Britain 'into Europe' the foreign policy of Heath and Home is isolating Britain from all the progressive forces of advancing Europe, and giving Britain the role of the last major bastion of reaction, impotently trying to block the general advance.

Nadir of British Foreign Policy

The attempt to block the moves towards a European Security Conference were presented through the formula of insisting that there could be no question of considering it or taking steps for its preparation until the question of West Berlin was settled. But here the new shift in orientation of American policy to diminish commitments in Europe, and to end finally the old 'special relationship' of building on Britain as the faithful satellite, combined with the role of Chancellor Brandt and Premier Pompidou to compel the old Munichite Foreign Secretary Home (with open complaints in the Tory press of the American pressure on Home in this connection)

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to accept the four power agreement on West Berlin. So he had recourse to his final desperate expedient of a grand charade of spy mania, with a host of allegations and fabrications recalling the days of the Arcos raid, with each official version contradicting the previous official version, after the previous version had been met with derision, but with the effect, through the expulsion of serious representatives, of striking a blow at British interests and British-Soviet trade, when other European nations were racing ahead in this field. The West European statesmen, who were combining increased profitable economic relations with the Soviet Union and socialist countries alongside their new diplomatic initiatives and open support of a European Security Conference, made clear that Home's allegations would make no difference to the policies they were pursuing. Never since Munich has Britain been brought so low in the whole sphere of international relations and its international policy, which is the counterpart of the Tory Government's disastrous home economic record.

Labour's Testing Time

This is the situation which calls for the fighting unity and strength of the working class, of all the labour and democratic movement, to mobilise the mass anger against the discredited Tory Government, combine the political fight with the fight of the workers in the industrial field, and force an election to bring about its defeat and open the way for a new policy of the left. In this context the parliamentary vote of October 28 is the most serious warning. With popular opinion, despite the most lavish Government-financed propaganda campaign, maintaining majority opposition against the surrender of Britain to the Common Market, the Heath Government was determined to force Britain into the Common Market without an electoral mandate or submitting the decision to the electorate. Today the Heath Government boasts of having won a parliamentary majority of 112. But in fact the Heath Government would have been defeated on October 28 if it had not been saved by Labour renegades. Since attempts are still made to dispute this plain fact of the crucial vote of October 28, the most critical parliamentary vote since 1940, it is necessary to set out the plain figures.

	For	*Against*	*Abstained*
Conservative	282	39	2
Labour	69	198	20
Liberal	5	1	—
Others	—	6	—

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Lessons of the Critical Vote of October 28

If the 89 Labour MPs had voted in accordance with the decisions of the Labour Party Conference, the Labour Party Executive and the Parliamentary Labour Party, the result would have been: For, 287; Against, 333. The Heath Government would have been defeated by 46 votes. Even if half the Conservative opponents (20) had abstained in order not to bring down the Government (and their principal spokesmen had made clear that they would register their vote irrespective of its effect on the Government) the Heath Government would still have been defeated by 26 votes. The Tory Government was saved from defeat by 'Labour' votes. This experience has been compared with 1931, when the top leaders of the Labour Party broke up the Labour Government and ratted to join the Tories in a Tory Coalition Government. But this is worse than 1931. The Labour traitors in 1931 first left the Labour Party to join the Tory Government. But these allies of the Tories in the leading ranks of Labour have sought to combine their practical coalition with Toryism to save the most reactionary Tory Government of modern times with the demand to maintain their leading positions in the Labour Party. It will be for the constituency Labour Parties to express their judgement on this claim. The actual situation is the more serious because of the role of the Leader of the Labour Party, Mr Wilson, in casting a mantle of protection over the Tory-Labour rebels, with his emphatic insistence in advance of the vote that *after* October 28 discipline must be maintained, thus giving a licence for the allies of Toryism to cast their vote to save the Tory Government on October 28. Thus the full problem of the present alignment of political forces has been revealed in this critical test. Heath strikes the blow at the British people. Jenkins comes to the rescue of Heath. Wilson comes to the rescue of Jenkins. It is through this complex interplay of the formally opposed and in practice co-operating personalities occupying the attention of the public that the impersonal requirements of finance-capital receive in the final outcome their executive fulfilment. This is the situation which calls for the most serious consideration by all on the left to rally all the forces of the working class, strengthen democratic functioning of the labour movement, overcome bans and proscriptions that hinder co-operation of socialist and left supporters, so as to build up the full strength of left unity, communist and non-communist, and advance to the real alternative policies and mass popular movement on the basis of left unity which can alone open the way to a new prospect in British politics. **R.P.D.**

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SCOTLAND AND THE COMMON MARKET

Jim Sillars MP

SCOTTISH working class opinion greeted the House of Commons vote on the Common Market with anger and apprehension. Anger that Labour MPs should, as some Scots did, vote to keep a man in power who has headed the Government responsible for the UCS, and a rate of unemployment which makes the mind reel. Apprehension that the future, already bleak, will see a further decline for our country.

Our fear of the future inside the Common Market is, we have been scornfully informed by pro-market MPs, totally unjustified. We are, they say, born pessimists. It is only they, the optimists, who have the unimpaired vision necessary to understand the golden opportunities which will unfold for Scotland inside the Common Market.

The Scots are pessimistic. Not by birth but by experience. And experience moreover gained at the hands of the very optimists, both Labour and Tory, who are now urging us into the new promised land of Western Europe, and who pour acid comment on our analysis of the Market and its likely effect on Scotland.

Scotland is a country which does not require to be convinced by theoretical argument against entry, because we know all about how a Common Market works in a capitalist system. We have been part of the British Common Market since its inception, and still suffer from the inequalities, social, cultural and economic, which are inherent in capitalism.

To the fears expressed about the fate of a peripheral region inside the enlarged Common Market, devoted as it is by statute to the competitive philosophy and the rule of market forces, the retort has been that salvation lies in regional policies.

'Regional policies' is a phrase spoken with such fervour by the pro-Market people that one gets the impression that regional policies have never been tried before. They have been tried before, and, given that full employment was the objective, they have failed.

The period of the last Labour Government was an invaluable experience for Scotland. We had in Willie Ross, the former Secretary of State, a remarkably tough in-fighter in Cabinet, and a set of sophisticated and extensive regional policy measures unmatched anywhere in Western Europe. Yet despite the efforts of Ross,

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and widely applauded policies, the job loss rate for men accelerated rapidly, and unemployment rose remorselessly.

I do not dispute that had Labour won the 1970 election Scottish unemployment would never have been allowed to reach the present levels; but neither do I believe that Labour's regional policies would have achieved full employment. The reason is that no past set of policies has ever challenged the fundamentals of the capitalist system, that decisions are made in the interests of individual companies not of the people.

By enshrining in the Rome Treaty the ethic of capitalism, that capital must be free to flow with only minor impediments in its way, the founders of the Common Market have ensured that future regional policies affecting Scotland and similar areas will continue to evade a central challenge to the system. The policies will seek to influence decision-makers towards investment in the depressed areas, but will make no attempt to control their decisions. Against the hurricane-like forces of a competitive market economy, regional policies will be but a gentle breeze blowing in the public interest.

Working at their best within a capitalist system regional policies do no more than pacify a country, like Scotland, on the periphery. 'Good' regional policies, like those of the last Labour Government, keep unemployment at around 'acceptable' levels; while rank bad policies such as those of the present Heath Government fail to hold back the devastating effects of the market forces at work. Neither the good nor bad regional policies provide us with the full employment we need and are now demanding.

The era of pacification in Scotland is over. Now we want the right to work for everyone. The Scottish worker, thanks to the stimulus of the UCS struggle, is no longer content with unemployment rates of 3.5 per cent. He wants full employment and is prepared to fight for it. The longer Scotland's working class are denied their rights, the greater the fury will grow; and energies will be released which will be capable of shaking the hitherto constitutional unity of the United Kingdom.

British politicians are going to find themselves subjected to enormous pressure from Scottish workers seeking full employment. Yet those same politicans will find themselves unable to deliver, subject as they will be to the developments of a largely unfettered massive capitalist economy with its centre of gravity firmly anchored in the continent.

The only solution to my country's problems is to have a planned socialist economy in Britain, employing fully both

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the people and the resources of this island. An essential instrument of such planning would be the control of capital—a measure proscribed by the Treaty of Rome.

With the only measure suitable to our needs ruled out by the Treaty we have good reason to be worried. The Scots are a patient people whose patience is at an end. The breaking point might come even before we enter the Market in 1973.

Rumour has it that an expected £1,000 million steel complex at Hunterston in Ayrshire, with the finest natural deep water berth in Europe is to be the first casualty of our decision to enter the Common Market. If and when that decision is made known the industrial and political fury of the Scottish people will know no bounds. Some of my colleagues may then wish that they had voted with the Labour Party and not with Heath.

UNEMPLOYMENT— OUR BATTLE

Ken Gill
Deputy General Secretary
Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers
Technical And Supervisory Section

A LAME duck Government. That's what we have and the duck was sinking fast. Only a few noisy bubbles would remain if the Tory's friend, Roy Jenkins, and his crew had not thrown them the lifebelt. Heath was returned to power by disillusioned desertions from Labour because of the backward policies of Wilson. Like a phoenix from the ashes, all those burnt out plans grew into full blown ruling class blossoms.

The ghastly Heath smile has been transformed into a mocking grimace, a sinister comment on the destruction of a carefully but delicately constructed social democratic edifice. Children are attacked through their schools meals and milk, and Thatcher became the Snatcher. The councils which defy the Government's ban on milk are heroes. The workers of UCS struggle manfully, not for socialism next week, but for jobs. In doing so they reassert man's dignity, contrasting with the brutish assassination of industry and livelihood being planned and executed with ostentatious relish by Butcher Davies.

In Plesseys in Scotland, sacked workers in occupying their factory

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stand as guardians of the public purse, fending off the attempts to raise profits from the sale or use of publicly subsidised machinery while yet another area is stripped of work by the locusts of private profit. All is righteous opposition to a cabinet dedicated to turning the clock back to more lucrative days when dole queues knew their place. These struggles are highlighting the reactionary profile of our rulers so brilliantly that their support slumps daily. It could be said with rare truth that if the policies of the last Government were not wrapped round the neck of Her Majesty's loyal opposition like an Old Man of the Sea, the Tories would be out already.

How does Barbara Castle smite the Industrial Relations Act with passion after her dangerous flirtation with *In Place of Strife*? Attacks on the health service seem not quite so outrageous when seen through the spectacles of Labour prescription charges.

The art of turning victory into defeat was never so skilfully demonstrated as when the imminent collapse of the whole Conservative gang was turned into a dance of triumph by Jenkins's loyalty to Tory principle, coupled with public cynicism about Wilson's conversion from 'pro' to 'anti'. It is a gross betrayal of the million unemployed whose major hope of revival is the destruction of this Government. The boosting of reaction, the succouring of failing fortunes is a role played to perfection by the right wing who still busily betray inside our movement.

The Common Market parliamentary fiasco illustrates under the glare of maximum publicity the virtuoso performances of the finest exponents of treachery, but they have reached a new level which Ramsey MacDonald would envy; he had to leave the party to support the Tories! Roy Jenkins should ponder on this historical precedent however—MacDonald's name is synonymous with betrayal despite the applause the press gave him at the moment of double cross!

But what of the struggle? It is unlikely to be diverted by what does not happen in Westminster. Whatever wriggling takes place there, the factory, yard and office face the frontal attack. The stark facts are nearly one million officially unemployed. If women whose insurance is covered by their husband's stamps are included (they are not entitled to unemployment pay and are consequently not recorded), the figure will already exceed 1,250,000.

The social consequences are clear to anyone who works in industry. While order books are low, while redundancy appears 'justified', sackings are increasing. When orders increase, the slimmed down staff will be expected to cope. Re-equipment is producing the phenomenon of technological unemployment. This follows fast on the

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massive cuts which arose from the mergers of giant companies and the rationalisation programmes which were hard on the heels of the take-overs.

The second phase is illustrated by the fact that over 2,000 jobs have become 'surplus' in the GEC-AEI-EE empire since Arnold Weinstock declared an end to rationalisation. The employer defends his actions by blaming capitalism. 'Unless we cut staff, we will be unprofitable and then collapse will make more thousands suffer. So for your own sake, accept . . .', etc. The answer the movement must give is that jobs must be saved; that society cannot be allowed to make part of itself redundant, surplus, unwanted; that there is a need for production to supply need; that profit is not a measuring stick for the needs of our people.

All those truths are beginning to spread. There is no readiness to accept the economic law which declares workers unwanted. The anger which destroyed the last Tory Government was born in growing unemployment. That anger is growing much more strongly this time. Workers are recognising that the boldness of the employers' attack grows from a boardroom confidence based on workless figures. The recent *Times* admonition to employers not to express satisfaction at the growing numbers without work was a recognition of the political consequences to the ruling class, not sympathy with the victims.

The feature of inflation in a period of increasing unemployment is new to capitalism. There is a frenzied determination to take advantage of job competition to force wages down and reimpose lost discipline. Despite set-backs, the organised workers have been successful in defending themselves. It is that success which has forced capitalism to roll out the big guns of state power.

Although work levels were not low when the first attempts to police the unions were made, the architects of repressive industrial legislation were well aware of the designs of those who control production. The capacity of employees to fight against cuts in jobs and wages had to be curtailed if the crisis were to be lived through. The fight against the Act is, therefore, the inseparable twin of the struggle for jobs. The trade union movement was within spitting distance earlier this year of destroying the Bill. Only the duplicity and fears of some trade union leaders prevented a mass awakening which could have aborted the Act. Unemployment, however, has a distinctive and unmistakable smell. No parliamentarian or trade union leader can disguise its stink as the 'will of the people' or can suggest that it can only be blown away after the next election.

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But if we are going to fight it, words will not deter sackings. Productivity deals, overtime working and such similar devices will only subscribe to those awful statistics. Industrial action to support the unemployed, to protest against sackings, to demand work, will be illegal, politically orientated, a breach of procedure, a breaking of a contract and many other things. Such action should be used to expose the truth, so that many more millions can see what hardwon liberties are being destroyed. The rising battle for jobs will be accompanied by clashes in the engineering industry on the collapse of the National Procedure Agreement, and on the rejected national claim.

The fact that the laws of Britain have been redesigned to exclude defence of standards as well as improvement is best understood in action. There is a readiness to fight unemployment, and that readiness can be transmitted into a willingness to defy and destroy oppressive laws. Only poor leadership in the trade unions can save the 'lame duck' Government. It is vital that the posturing in parliament is not repeated in industry.

Whatever the objective, traditional methods will be used. Militant workers, conscious of the barbed wire entanglements of law will advance despite the dangers. Millions will act without knowledge of the new laws, but when legislation bites into their organisations the response can be overwhelming.

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WILLIAM MORRIS IN THE YEAR OF THE COMMUNE

Ray Watkinson

THE year 1971 has seen the celebration, in many ways, in most countries, of the centenary of the Paris Commune, the most significant event in the advance towards socialism until the Russian revolution of 1917. It also marked the 75th anniversary of the death, on October 3, 1896, of the greatest figure in British socialist history—William Morris.

Morris was not only the first major artist and poet (in both of which roles he was one of the greatest figures of his time) to identify himself with the socialist cause in this country. He went further, in identifying himself with the organised working class, and in committing himself to communism as the unequivocal objective of socialist endeavour, and to Marxism as the profoundest and most creative account of society.

In his too-short life, he was not only one of our most influential designers and poets, but, in the political sphere into which he was increasingly drawn from the time of the Eastern Question agitation of 1876-77, was no less a creative thinker and no less an effective actor. One of the first Englishmen to read *Capital* (in French) he was also one of Marx's earliest and best expositors. From January 1883, when he joined the Social Democratic Federation on the assurance from Hyndman that it was indeed a socialist body, to his death in 1896, he devoted himself strenuously to the cause of socialism. None of the tasks of the movement was too onerous or too menial for him: attending an international congress in Paris, speaking to a handful of people on a windy corner in Hammersmith, selling his precious library to subsidise the publication of *Commonweal*, writing—and selling—popular pamphlets, marching with thousands of comrades on Bloody Sunday, he worked unceasingly and unsparingly to educate, to organise, to liberate, at the same time maintaining his creative output as a designer of fabrics, wallpapers, stained glass, fine books, and as a poet. No wonder that on his death the famous diagnosis was made by a doctor friend that he had died simply of being William Morris, and doing more work than any ten men.

The connection between the centenary of the Commune and the 75th anniversary of his death is much more than a trivial coincidence of dates. There is a real, substantial, meaningful link: one of his

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most neglected and undervalued poems, 'The Pilgrims of Hope', has for its theme the meaning of the Commune.

Only Edward Thompson, in his *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary*, has made any serious attempt to evaluate this poem or rather sequence of poems. Morris had, as Rossetti and Bernard Shaw both recognised, deep dramatic insight, and 'The Pilgrims of Hope' is conceived as a drama rather than a narrative: each of its sections, modelled on the dramatic monologue form created by

'Vive la Commune!', *Illustrated London News*, **May 20, 1871**

Browning, adds, from the point of view of either the husband or the wife of the couple with whom the action begins, a new phase of development of their story, and carries us with them into the greater drama of the Commune. The relationship of two men and a woman is treated not as a sentimental, romantic, or cynical variant on the well-worn eternal triangle of bourgeois literature, but is set against and involved in the fact of class struggle, culminating in the triumphant tragedy of the Paris of May 1871. The lives of the three are inextricable from the socialist movement, their personal loves from their commitment to the cause.

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There is not space in this article for a critical examination such as the work deserves: only to point to it as one of Morris's most important poems, as one of the most poignant of Commune documents, to urge its reading, its close study, not least its enjoyment.

I call it a Commune document; and so I think it, though it was not written until 15 years after: one of a thousand products of the most productive period of Morris's life, when, without giving up the work which had made him—as he once angrily put it in a police court—'an artist and writer pretty well known throughout Europe', he had become one of the leaders of the socialist movement.

It was hastily written, and Morris was not satisfied with it as it first appeared in *Commonweal*. But he never revised it, and it was privately published without change by his friend, the Keats scholar, Harry Buxton Forman. Its first publication thereafter was in 1915, in the final volume of the *Collected Works*; it was included, in the centenary year of his birth, 1934, in the admirable *Nonesuch* Morris edited by G. D. H. Cole; and it is now easily available in paperback, in the *Three Works by William Morris*, published in 1968 by *Lawrence & Wishart*.

There is nothing in Morris's published writings or letters of the actual time of the Commune, which refers to that momentous event. When, after that 15 year lapse, he produced this poem, it embodied not only his political understanding of the Commune, but the personal experience he was undergoing at the time. The year 1871 was the great turning point in Morris's life. It marked the decisive crisis of his relationship with his beloved Janey, of his relationship with his great friend and teacher Rossetti, and in the relationship between his wife and his friend. It was in May 1871 that Morris took Kelmscott Manor jointly with Rossetti; it was immediately thereafter that he made his first journey to Iceland, a journey of tremendous symbolic significance, leaving Jane and Rossetti to resolve their feelings.

A decade of furious discontent with the social order had brought Morris to the point where he must move towards socialism—and move to action. At the same moment, the romantic and ideal love-relationship on which he had embarked, rather more than a decade before, with Janey, had now to give way to a new understanding of sexual relations.

It is important to understand that 'The Pilgrims of Hope' is not simply a political pamphlet in verse form, on the subject of the Commune. Its dramatic sequences unfold the whole philosophy with which we are familiar in the later 'News From Nowhere':

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embodying well-defined concepts of class struggle and political ideology, it embodies also a mature philosophy of love.

It ran, in not quite regular instalments, in early numbers of the *Commonweal*, from April 1885 to July 1886, when Morris was working closely with Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling. There can be no doubt, whatever Morris's feelings about Aveling's personality may have been, that he stood with them in the quarrel between them and Hyndman over their relationship.

For 25 years Morris had been increasingly in the public eye, as the author of highly regarded poems—'The Life and Death of Jason', 'The Earthly Paradise', 'Sigurd'—and as the directing force and chief designer of Morris and Company, in which capacity he had made a revolution in the world of decorative art which had, in spite of the personal satisfactions of actual creation within it, deepened to extremity his discontents with modern industrial capitalism and the sordid, brutal, cynical society it sustained. These discontents had been coming more and more sharply into focus ever since, as a young man at Oxford, he began to emerge from youthful dreams of art and love. From the late 1850s, inspired by Carlyle and Ruskin, liberated from middle class inhibitions by Rossetti, directed towards socialism and a specific sympathy with the working class by the painter Ford Madox Brown, he had set himself, first as an artist, to better the condition of life. During the 1870s, he made his painful and angry way towards an understanding of socialism and towards work with others for its realisation, finding in this not an alternative, but an additional and conclusive role.

The decade between 1861, when the famous firm was set up, and 1871, when the tragedy of the Commune made a colossal backdrop to the tragedy of his personal life, had seen Morris struggling towards his ultimate understanding that art could only be revitalised by a revolution in society: not the reactionary return to the imagined Middle Ages of Pugin, but a ruthless stride into a new order, based on the end of exploitation and class oppression. This would recreate art, restore to men their manhood—and to women their womanhood: a society could be brought into being in which love and creativity, man's universal birthright, should be restored to all.

Morris's socialism is whole and clear. There is no conflict, no separation, for him, between the revolution in its largest social effects, and the revolution in personal life which enables men to take part in the great change, and makes that change meaningful. The coincidence of the most significant socio-political event of his times, the Paris Commune, with the turning point in his

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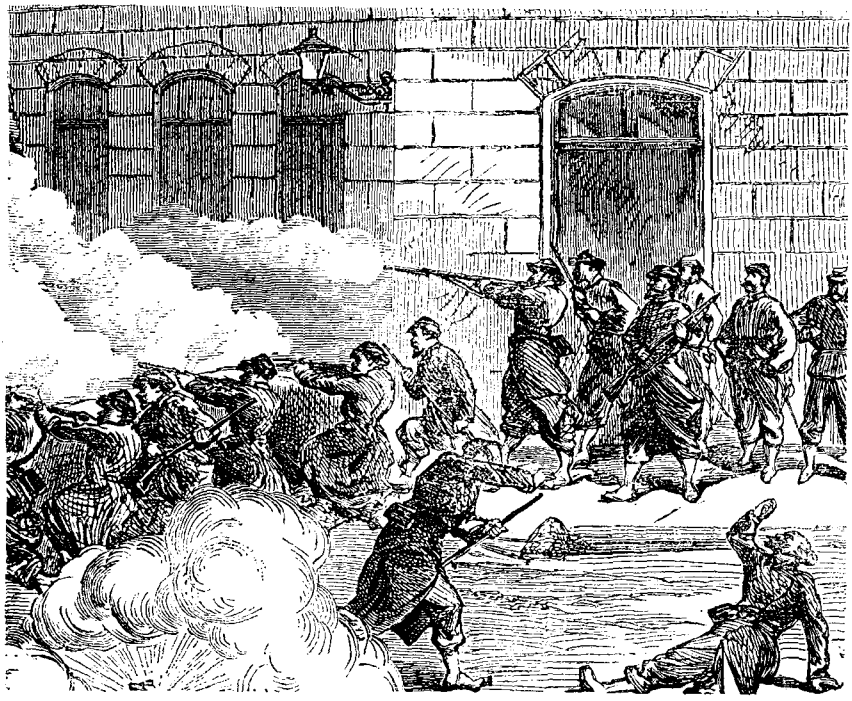

'The Fighting in Paris: Communists defending the Elysee Palace'
Illustrated London News, **June 3, 1871**

own personal relations, resolved for Morris the conflicts of his previous bourgeois-romantic outlook. The point at which he abandons his class position and turns towards the concept of a classless society is also the point at which he abandons the notions of exclusive and possessive love and is able to regard man and woman as truly equal. Just as 'News from Nowhere' is not a sentimental dream of an unrealisable ideal, but a projection of the quality of life in that classless society only to be achieved on the basis of the hardest appreciation of the essential place of class struggle in the destruction of classes, so neither is it a sentimental dream of dewy-eyed love. The love of which Morris writes in 'News from Nowhere' is something that, in his own life, he had already suffered and fought for: the hard way there is at the heart of 'The Pilgrims of Hope'. The political Morris, the Morris of art and poetry, cannot be separated: nor can there be separated from either the Morris who learned, in the year of the Commune, the creative and liberating, as opposed to the binding and destructive, power of sexual love.

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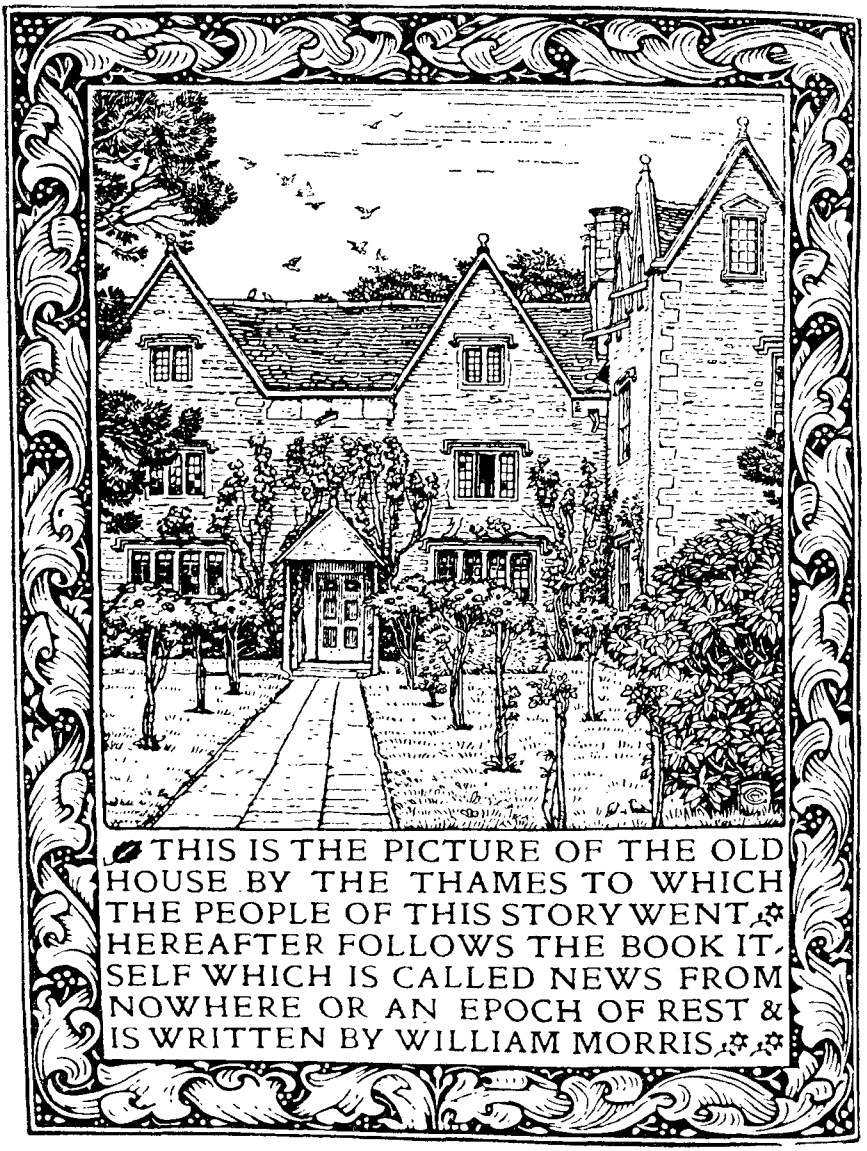
WILLIAM MORRIS 1834–1896

The photograph opposite was taken probably sometime in 1890-94. Below it is an item from a catalogue of 'the famous firm'.

Kelmscott Manor is depicted here in the frontispiece of *News from Nowhere*, Kelmscott Press, 1892.


THIS IS THE PICTURE OF THE OLD HOUSE BY THE THAMES TO WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THIS STORY WENT HEREAFTER FOLLOWS THE BOOK IT-SELF WHICH IS CALLED NEWS FROM NOWHERE OR AN EPOCH OF REST & IS WRITTEN BY WILLIAM MORRIS

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A NEW CHANCE FOR PEACE

Quaestor

WITH brazen contempt for the intelligence of the wider British public, Sir Alec Douglas-Home told a select audience at the Foreign Affairs Club (*Times* Diplomatic Correspondent, October 20) that he now hoped for 'a new exploratory and possibly hopeful phase in East-West relations'. This, he hinted, was due to the Tory Government's unprecedented action on September 24 in expelling 105 Soviet diplomats, business men and journalists on the charge of 'massive espionage'—for which not a scrap of evidence was ever produced: the public and MPs were expected to take it on trust, just as they did the 'Zinoviev letter' in 1924 and the 'missing secret document' in 1927 which was the excuse for the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

So pleased was this parody of a Foreign Secretary with his impudent idea that he enlarged on it in a parliamentary debate on November 4. It had been 'a necessary clearing of the air' to inflict this blow on British-Soviet relations, Sir Alec stated, but added that 'so far as he is concerned, this incident is closed.'

Of course, so far as the Soviet Government is concerned, it has already shown that the 'incident'—or, more accurately, the reckoning for the insulting outrage—is far from closed; and the same, beyond doubt, applies to the working class movement, whatever cowardly approval many Labour MPs gave to Home's charges. And it is particularly interesting that important capitalist governments have not taken up his lead.

The Foreign Secretary's action of September 24 was followed by President Nixon's announcement on October 13 that he was going to Moscow in the spring. Home's speech of October 19 was followed by President Pompidou's warm reception on October 25 for Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, an outstanding joint communiqué on October 26 by the Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin, and finally, on October 30, by a joint Soviet-French Declaration and a statement of 'Principles of Co-operation between the USSR and France'.

The Declaration specifically referred to 'the atmosphere of trust and cordiality which is in accord with the friendly relations existing between the two countries'—an atmosphere brutally dispelled, so far

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as Britain is concerned, by the gross indecency of Home's action of September 24. The Declaration further added that the two leaders had signed the statement of 'Principles' in order 'to give even greater depth and strength to the co-operation between the USSR and France, especially their political co-operation which is placed exclusively at the service of peaceful aims.' This was a resounding smack in the face for Sir Alec Douglas-Home: his action—whatever the effrontery with which he now asserts the opposite—was clearly designed to encourage all those who want to maintain world tension, as the intensified attacks on Chancellor Brandt in West Germany, the shots fired at the Soviet offices at the United Nations in the US, and the increasing violence of Zionist anti-Soviet actions in Britain (carried on with complete impunity) testify.

It is therefore valuable to place on record, even in summary form, the 'Principles' to which Pompidou and Brezhnev put their signatures (the full text is available free in *Soviet News* for November 2, published at 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7). They deserve careful study:

1. Co-operation on a reciprocal basis 'meets the common aspirations and mutual interests of the Soviet and French peoples.'

2. This is not directed against anyone else, and does not affect their commitments to other countries.

3. The policy of accord and co-operation must 'become a permanent policy in their relations and a permanent factor of international life.'

4. Political co-operation of the two countries is to facilitate restoration of peace in areas of conflict, ease international tension, and promote economic development and improving of living conditions.

5. There is to be more political consultation between the two governments for these purposes, and particularly 'concerted actions in international organisations and at international conferences and otherwise', where it will benefit the cause of peace.

6. Especially is this political co-operation to be expressed in the Security Council and in exercising joint responsibility in Europe 'stemming from the results of the second world war'—and if any threat to peace appears to them to be emerging, they shall consult together as provided in the Soviet-French protocol of October 13, 1970' (when Pompidou visited the USSR).

7. They will co-operate most closely in promoting peace and reduced tension in Europe.

8. Exchange of experience in industry and in protecting the environment 'will enable Europe to accelerate the pace of economic, scientific and technical progress.'

9. The USSR and France will work for the speediest political settlement 'in areas where peace is being endangered or violated'.

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10. They will give every assistance to the problem of 'first of all, nuclear disarmament, overcoming of the division of the world into military-political groupings, and consolidation of the role of the United Nations organisations' (a direct rebuff to the 'rearm Nato' maniacs).

11. In all fields they will conduct their bilateral relations so as to 'serve as a good example of equal co-operation between states with different social systems' (unlike the example of the Tory Government).

12. Development of their economic and trade exchanges, and of their exchange of experience in the field of industry and technology, is regarded as 'having substantial importance' for the two countries.

13. There is to be further expansion of university, scientific and art exchanges; of mutual distribution of information; of contacts between organisations, in particular youth, and citizens, 'on a collective or individual, official or unofficial basis'—supported by the respective authorities.

The 'Principles' were given immediate application, by the signature of a ten-year agreement on development of economic, technical and industrial Franco-Soviet co-operation. And a beginning was made, in its turn, by the signature of a £90 million engineering and supply contract with Renault for co-operation in building a huge lorry works on the river Kama, 500 miles from Moscow. By 1980 it will be producing 100,000 diesel engines and 150,000 8-12 ton lorries a year. Moreover the joint Declaration expressed the belief of both sides that the conference on European Security could be held in 1972, if a multilateral preparatory meeting took place in the near future at Helsinki.

But for the Tory Government's vicious anti-Sovietism—and the treachery of 69 Labour MPs who voted Tory, rather than see Heath and Co. defeated on the Common Market question—similar agreements could have been signed by now between Britain and the Soviet Union.

But the direction in which the Government wants things to go was once more made clear by Lord Carrington, Defence Secretary, on November 8. The establishment of 'some defence organisation by Western Europe was, he thought, inevitable within the next ten years' (*Times* Diplomatic Correspondent, November 9)—the exact opposite of point 10 in the Franco-Soviet 'Principles'!

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JAPAN AND PACIFIC ASIA

Dick Krooth

WHILE Japan counts second in the world of capitalist economic power, it has been so far a political and military midget. Even in its own region of the world, Japan is the only major power without nuclear bases of its own. Up to this moment at least, the great Japanese capitalists have been forced to bide their time and to co-operate with the US military network in Pacific Asia.

The monopoly and conglomerate Nippon business groups called *zaibatsu* do eventually want independent nuclear muscle, but their realistic approach to world politics tells them that this military objective cannot yet be produced by the material conditions which fetter Japan's political economy. On the one hand the economic system cannot yet support a military establishment comparable to the US network, and on the other the Japanese people are still opposed to military ventures abroad.

The long-range military plan can be gauged from the proposed 'defence' programme for 1972-77, which calls for 6,210,000 million yen (around $14,000 million) in expenditures, nearly three times the current 1966-72 arms spending, and will make the Japanese forces between five and ten times their second world war strength. Still, this force is clearly insufficient to displace the overwhelming US military fortress in Asia, which spends perhaps two-and-a-half to three times that much in a single year!

Without a sufficient military force, Japan has felt pressed to extend the US 'security' pact covering Okinawa for another full decade, permitting US nuclear bases to remain in Okinawa and the long arm of the Pentagon to maintain its stranglehold. However, the Tokyo-Washington axis is being broadened as well as tightened. Prime Minister Sato and US President Nixon together have declared that the Japan-US Security Treaty encompasses areas bearing on the 'security' of both Taiwan and South Korea.

Behind this extension of Japan's 'defence' perimeter lies another struggle—the great battle for Asian markets and investment spheres of interest. This struggle is strikingly like that which took place between the two world wars, resulting in Japan's proclamation over the ruins of American, British, French and Dutch outposts of empire of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The present struggle in Pacific Asia is a replay of many past events. Japan has again transformed itself into an industrial power,

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and since 1968 it has become the second ranking economy in the capitalist world. Its *zaibatsu* again control the political economy of Japan. The five great *zaibatsu* hold almost 40 per cent of all deposits in the nation through a chain of banks that link the wage savings of the working class to the capital supply of the conglomerate industrial and commercial concerns which these *zaibatsu* also control, and that centralise these sums for both manufacturing and capital export.

Japanese manufactured goods are once more spilling over her shores, increasingly flooding to the US and Europe, but this flow is likely to switch to Asia once the trade war between the leading capitalist powers intensifies. An intense struggle for the whole of Asian commerce is growing.

Already Japan is trouncing the US and Britain in the growing non-Communist Pacific marketplace. The fury of this struggle is indicated by the fact that one-fifth to one-sixth of all US exports go to this area, while nearly one-third of the Japanese outflow is similarly destined. Not only are Japanese goods cheaper than competitive wares, but the Nippon brand of sales promotion is unequalled by any other. Furthermore, Japan has begun an export-promotion programme called 'aid' that is second only to the US variety of this technique in Asia; if American expenditures in Vietnam were excluded, Japanese 'aid' would be nearly equal. Between 1964 and 1975, total 'aid' has been programmed to increase ten times over.

Meanwhile, increasing quantities of crucial raw materials are required to feed the industrial machine. To get these resources, Japan is looking primarily to non-Communist Pacific Asia and especially to Australia. So far she has signed long-term contracts for iron supplies and other minerals running for as long as a decade and a half, and, as the Japanese industrial base expands, likewise will her growing hunger for raw materials. For the period 1967-75 the planned imports of copper, lead, zinc, nickel, petroleum and lumber were to double, while the import of iron ore and coking coal was to quadruple.

Nearly 43 per cent of all direct Japanese overseas investments between 1951 and 1967 were made for the purpose of securing raw materials. The required capital is being cast out of the Japanese political economy on the heels of a declining rate of profitable investment. Idle capital is welling up at an increasing pace and is being spirited overseas where super-profits can be taken from low-paid wage workers. One commentator says 'the rapidly growing

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Japanese economy is producing surpluses for overseas investment—and the rest of Asia is hungry for funds'.

United States investors and exporters are now taking stock of the new Japanese empire and anxiously analysing its methods. Herman Kahn's new book, *The Emerging Japanese Superstate,* is one of many such studies, examining, for example, Japan's export of capital to purchase cheap Asian labour. Kahn says (p. 96):

> From this point of view, the Japanese have a hinterland in non-Communist Pacific Asia of possibly 200 or 300 million people, many of whom they will simply incorporate, by one device or another, into their economic superstate even while not moving them geographically. In effect, rather than importing the labour into Japan (or raising it indigenously), the Japanese will export the work to the enormous, talented labour force available in their Pacific hinterland. . . . This adds 100 million people or so to the potential Japanese labour force—people who can be used with varying degrees of economy and convenience but who almost certainly will be available to the Japanese economy through the seventies and perhaps longer. If the Japanese can exploit this labour pool as well as it seems likely they can, they will have no serious labour shortages in the next decade or two.

A massive offensive is underway in Pacific Asia. On all economic fronts—in the marketplace, in the export of 'aid' and investment capital, as well as in the taking of minerals and raw materials—Japan is moving ahead of her competitors. In the military field alone she still fawns on the United States, and it may be some time before she can break this tie. Meanwhile, she is in the process of acquiring nuclear weaponry in addition to establishing an independent ground force to fight guerrilla revolutionaries elsewhere in Asia.

Should the Nixon Doctrine of 'Asianisation' be carried to its ultimate conclusion, Japanese troops will converge on South Korea, on South Vietnam, on Thailand, Laos and a host of other nations in Pacific Asia. US imperialism in Asia has reached the stage where it cannot sustain itself without laying the groundwork for its own destruction—first by arming puppet troops that will eventually turn their guns against the US, and then by calling into the fray the primary imperial enemy of America's Asian emporium—Japan.

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COMRADE RECTOR

Fergus Nicholson

IT is hard to exaggerate the significance of the election of Jimmy Reid as Rector of Glasgow University. Whereas Oxford University was established on the model of Paris University, Glasgow University was founded in 1451 on the model of the University of Bologna, that is the students ran the university and paid and appointed the staff.

Something of this survives into the 20th century in the institution of the rectorship. While the effective head of the university is the Principal, the Rector is the chairman of the court, the governing body of about 20, and he appoints an assessor who also sits on the court, and can take the chair in his absence. The rector is elected every three years by the students.

Inside and outside Scotland the rectorship is a highly regarded honour which British and foreign statesmen, literary figures and other celebrities have obtained or often failed to obtain. Lord Butler and Lord Hailsham have both been rectors of Glasgow University. Sometimes the choice of rector has been an effective way of expressing support for a cause, as for example in 1962 when Glasgow students elected Chief Luthuli, the leader of the African National Congress of South Africa. At other times, lesser known but local figures have been preferred as *working* rectors, that is eminent local figures who would be available to represent the students' interest.

Jimmy Reid is certainly a national figure; he will be a working rector; but he is the first *workers'* rector, and it was for that quality associated with the UCS struggle that a very broad student coalition chose him as their champion. It will not be lost on the student movement that the first workers' rector will appoint as his assessor a student, and in particular, the student chosen by the students' representatives.

The slogan of building a strong student movement in Britain allied to the labour movement is daily becoming a reality. It has been expressed in local student support for particular strikes or lock-out committees; it was expressed during last session in official and massive student support for the industrial action and demonstrations against the Industrial Relations Bill; it is expressed in the National Union of Students' co-operation with the TUC and various unions, and the presence of student union observers, with

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TUC blessing, on many trades councils. In Glasgow, where students are still remembered for running the trams during the general strike, the students in choosing Jimmy Reid in preference to Labour or Tory ex-ministers have massively endorsed this turn to the labour movement.

It is a student movement evolving in this way that the Tory Government hopes to smash by its new proposals to control student union finance.

CORRESPONDENCE:

Queries for Comment

WHILE BROWSING through a few old copies of *LM* I came across a couple of discrepancies which I would like you to clear up. First on page 155 of the April 1967 issue you quote Conservative MP Sir Ian Orr-Ewing as saying: '. . . we receive about £270 million from that part of the world [East of Suez] . . . those figures show that our defence expenditure is only a small portion of what we receive from investments in that part of the world.' In the same issue on page 189 Commander Edgar P. Young (RN Retired), reviewing a book by Chris Mayhew MP, says: '. . . the return from total British investments East of Suez is well under half the cost of stationing British troops there even if we include oil investments and all our investments in Australia and New Zealand.'

The other discrepancy is the voting figures put out in your January 1971 issue, which on page 11 you give as *total* 39,384,364 and the *Tory* vote as 13,144,682. In the April 1971 issue the figures are somewhat different. Page 152 reads: A so-called majority was a minority 46.3 per cent. *Total* vote 39,364,000. *Tory* vote 13,091,000. Apart from wishing to know the correct figures I am intrigued about the figure of 46.3 per cent and am interested to discover how you arrived at it.

JIM MCCARTHY
Leeds

R.P.D. writes:

THE TWO FIGURES printed in the 1967 volume giving estimates of the British investment income from the Middle East were not estimates of this journal or its contributors, but quoted estimates from a Tory imperialist spokesman in the one case and a Labour imperialist spokesman in the other. The Tory imperialist estimate of a high figure was quoted to illustrate the importance attached by the interests represented by this Tory spokesman to Middle East exploitation. The Labour imperialist estimate of a low figure was quoted in a review by Edgar Young of the book by the Labour imperialist in which this estimate occurred, not to discuss the accuracy or otherwise of the figure but to point out the confusion of the argument of this spokesman that, in endeavouring to suggest the return was low in comparison with the cost of maintaining British troops in the area, he failed to recognise that the investment income went to a tiny number of individuals, while the costs of maintaining British troops in the region fell on the whole British people.

With regard to the estimates of the electoral figures of June 1970 there have often been small detail variations in estimates given, owing to the absence of any official report of the election, and owing to variations in assigning some special candidates to a particular party and in the

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consequent aggregate vote attached to that party. The nearest approach to an authoritative available reference is *The Times Guide to the House of Commons 1970*; this gives the following figures: electorate 39,384,364; poll 28,344,807 or 72 per cent; Conservative vote 13,144,692, equivalent to 46.4 per cent of the poll.

Soldiers Three

I WOULD LIKE to point out a mistake which so easily could be used by 'the other side', which all too often has been beaten by you, to question the correctness of what is presented in the November *LM*. On page 521, Ivor Montagu writes on line 6: '. . . in the Crimea against the Kwantung armies . . .' There were no Kwantung armies in the Crimea. They were in China. The German army was in the Crimea, and for a time I was there.

If space allows, I could give a short cut through my life's experiences, how it changed my outlook: 1933, ten years old, Hitler Youth, fanatical Nazi; 1941, soldier in Russia with the Panzers, determined to smash the evil of Bolshevism to save Christian civilisation; 1943 Stalingrad, excape by the skin of my teeth, wounded, disillusionment and doubt sets in; 1945, working as a prisoner-of-war in the cotton fields with the Black and Mexican pickers, having my first tastes of racialism which up to then I had only met ideologically (Herren Rasse Idee); 1947 Britain, working on a farm, then on the railways, woke up painfully and became a Communist. Maybe you are interested: if not, waste paper basket.

H. METELMANN
Surrey

The lines referred to in Ivor Montagu's article should have read: '. . . GHQ representative to a front command, actively in the Crimea and—at the end of the war—against the Kwantung army, and he was in charge . . .' We are very grateful to Mr Metelmann for pointing out this error that slipped into our proof.—Ed. *LM*.

THEATRE

Robert Owen
Unity Theatre, London

DON'T go to Unity Theatre's latest production 'Robert Owen' for dramatic excitement, or for the authenticity of the accents of Owen's New Lanark mill workers. It is however an informative dramatisation of episodes in the life of a notable figure in the beginnings of the labour movement, from his unbearable precocity when he leaves Wales for London to make his career at the age of 12, through to his old age. On the way he paternalistically but shrewdly manoeuvres his workers into cleaning their houses and producing more in fewer hours. Perhaps the best scenes were those among the not so jolly paupers in a New Lanark pub-cum-shop-cum-thieves' kitchen before Owen's arrival. His contribution to the Co-operative Movement, who are jointly responsible for this production, is represented by a scene in which he allows his grateful workers to run their own shop, with the profits going to his educational schemes.

F.N.

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BOOKS

American Labor and the Indochina War
Philip S. Foner
International Publishers (Central Books), 126 pp., 70p

THE HARD FACT must be faced that the war waged by the United States against Vietnam and the other countries of Indo-China would have been stopped years ago if the US trade union movement had actively opposed the aggression instead of giving it whole-hearted support. Even today, when all organisations and individuals, with any pretentions to progressive ideas join in the demand for withdrawal of US forces, Nixon can count on full-blooded backing from the leadership of the AFL-CIO. But the grip of its president George Meany and the majority group of the Executive is beginning to weaken. Powerful unions are in revolt and are starting to forge links with the students, the organisations for black liberation and the peace movements. The call to end the war is the unifying factor. The story of this trade union revolt is told in a useful and opportune paperback by Philip S. Foner, a specialist on American trade union history.

The world was told of the death of Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, in an air crash on May 6, 1970, but little or no publicity was given to the fact that, on the day he died, he had written to Nixon condemning the invasion of Cambodia and coming out in full opposition to the war.

'The problem, Mr President,' he wrote, 'is that we cannot successfully preach non-violence at home, while we escalate mass violence abroad.'

Television screens, here as well as in America, were flooded with pictures of members of the construction workers' union ('hard hats' as they are called) demonstrating in support of the war. The public was not told that members of the union publicly declared that employers gave cash bonuses to the demonstrators and docked the pay of those who refused to take part. Nor were they told that evidence was produced to show that the CIA was behind the demonstration. After this demonstration, Nixon invited the leaders to the White House and was photographed with them wearing a hard hat.

Mr Foner traces the slow development of opposition to the war among a minority of the leaders and the much swifter growth at rank and file level. By June 1970, after the invasion of Cambodia, thirteen unions with millions of members had formed the 'National Labour Committee to End the War in Indo-China'. Since then more unions have joined in the struggle. It has been given new impetus by the mounting evidence that war expenditure, far from providing jobs, is creating depression and unemployment. There is a familiar note in a telegram sent by trade union opponents of the war to the Post master General during the strike in March 1970 of New York postmen. 'It is a mockery of all human decency,' they telegraphed, 'that a nation, which spends 30 billion dollars on an illegal and immoral war refuses a pittance to provide a living wage to underpaid letter carriers.'

Two lessons emerge. One is that the movement against the war in the US would have been immeasurably strengthened had the Labour Government dissociated Britain from the US aggression. The other is the need to give all possible support to the trade union forces in the US who are struggling against the stranglehold of Meany and his associates. These were the leaders who split the World

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Federation of Trade Unions and launched the cold war. It is not generally remembered that at the last meeting of the General Council of the WFTU, in which the TUC and the CIO took part, it was agreed to encourage the creation of a united German trade union movement. The AFL, backed with unlimited supplies of dollars, prevented German trade union unity and created breakaway bodies in France and other countries. They had to divide the trade union movement before they could divide Germany, Europe and the world. And at that time, the British TUC, under the Lawther, Deakin, Williamson right-wing triumverate, backed them to the full.

Today, there is a new leadership and the beginning of progressive policies in the TUC and the promise of similar changes in America. Mr Foner writes of the 'disenchantment of young Americans with the labour movement' and recalls how most of the unions still resist entry of black workers into their ranks, and have been 'the active supporter of America's cold war diplomacy at home and abroad, while the AFL-CIO and some of its affiliates have for years been used by the CIA as a cover for its clandestine operations to further the aims of American imperialism in Africa, Guyana, the Dominican Republic, south-east Asia and elsewhere.'

He adds: 'No one should underestimate the difficulties that lie ahead for any effort to alter the role played by the dominant leadership of large sections of the American labour movement as uncritical supporters of the aims and purposes of American foreign policy. But it is still true that there exists a mounting opposition in the trade unions to this leadership, and that this is, in many ways, part of the rising opposition to American imperialism, and part of the black liberation movement and the rebellion of youth.'

That is one bright spot in the sombre picture of the United States today.

G. SCHAFFER

Soviet Relations with Latin America 1918-1968

Edited by Stephen Clissold

Oxford University Press, 314 pp., £3.75

ALTHOUGH MOST of the massive documentation on Soviet activity in various parts of the world emanates from US universities, some is the result of British research. Mr Clissold's publisher informs us that he has studied eastern Europe as well as Latin America and the Caribbean and always with reference to the Soviet Union—including a paper for the 'Institute for the USSR' at Munich.

The purpose of this volume is given as the bringing together of the principal documents to enable the reader to trace 'the increasing range of political, economic and cultural contacts [of the USSR] with Latin America'. The approach is authentically academic, as contrasted with the hysterical anti-Soviet outpourings from Salvador de Madriaga's pen (e.g. *Latin America between the Eagle and the Bear*, 1962 and now being remaindered; de Madriaga also now works in the Federal Republic of Germany), but the motivation appears to be the same.

Twenty years ago Cuba was not included in books about South America: although in the Caribbean, it takes up a large proportion of this book. But it was not to Moscow that Fidel Castro went in 1953: it was the bastion of US imperialism he was attacking, at Moncada. He did not visit Moscow until 1963, when Cuba was boycotted by the US and under economic blockade.

With the US cutting its already

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low foreign aid programme by 10 per cent, and our Government never having reached the 1 per cent Gross National Product agreed as the minimum needed, surely we should welcome the development of relations between all the more developed countries and those of the 'third world', which includes the whole of Latin America. Instead, despite its academic tone, this book gives the impression that the development of good Soviet relations with Latin America is not to be welcomed. Is the cold war to go on for ever at the expense of the starving illiterates of Asia, Africa and Latin America?

AMICIA M. YOUNG

The History of Working Class Housing

A Symposium edited by Stanley D. Chapman

David & Charles, 308 pp., £4.75

THIS SCHOLARLY compendium documents aspects of the growth of Britain's modern industrial towns up to the beginning of the first world war. It draws upon largely unpublished records which richly illuminate the background against which the working class had to begin its still unabated struggle for decent homes and low rents.

There is much here to substantiate in detail the indictment of capitalist and landlord rapacity already generally familiar to socialists from other accounts. Much will be found of value in today's struggle. Here, a century or more ago, we read of the same pinchpenny excuses, the same administrative foot-dragging, the same shameless profiteering at the expense of the most deprived. There is a wealth of detail about rents, land costs, interest rates, wages, overcrowding and disease—all presented with scholarly restraint. Some space is devoted to the mechanics of building societies and other abortive attempts to rescue housing from the hands of profiteers, and the beginnings of state involvement in Glasgow and Liverpool are recorded. The towns specifically discussed are London, Glasgow, Nottingham, Liverpool, Birmingham and Ebbw Vale. Those currently engaged in struggle in these places will find the factual information invaluable. There is also a little about south-east Lancashire and the adjoining Pennines.

There is little mention of the working class's own struggle for a decent environment. (It is distressing to see Engels's unique and pioneering contribution classed alongside reformist panaceas, and dismissed in the preface as 'social idealism'!) No doubt the documentation here is incomplete and the facts less easy to find. But socialist historians will now have little excuse for not bringing the score up-to-date, and transforming these accounts into living propaganda. So far, Alec Johnson's *This Housing Question* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1954) remains the only serious attempt (one, incidentally, which our present authors would do well to read). In a period which witnesses (now on a world scale) the impotence of capitalism to provide a civilised environment for the majority of mankind, we should be unsparing in our condemnation of a system which promotes homelessness, disease, dereliction, pollution and human degradation in equal measure as it accumulates greater, quicker and more certain profits.

With such abundant evidence as this book already contains, and in the face of renewed Tory attacks, we should strengthen the fight, now 150 years old, at least, for decent housing to be provided as a social service at a price the poorest can afford.

W. H. EVANS

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Does Fidel Eat More Than Your Father? Conversations in Cuba

Barry Reckord

André Deutsch, 192 pp., £2.10

SUGAR CANE is cut each year by hundreds and thousands of volunteers —I was one of them in this year's 'Zafra'. Ordinary people—in my brigade they were mostly from light industry in the Havana area: lift mechanics, television engineers, typewriter mechanics—work in the fields for thirteen consecutive days, have two days off to go home (if they can get home) and then repeat the cycle until the four months of the Zafra is over. The work is hard beyond the knowledge of most people in England. Why do they work in this way? Because it helps Cuba and because everyone who is anyone in Cuba, from Fidel down, works hard. It is precisely because the people know in their hearts that Fidel does not eat more than your father that they are prepared to sacrifice themselves in this way. If the word got round that there was privilege in high places, the Cuban system of moral incentives would not work.

Barry Reckord recognises this truth about Cuba and seems to believe that the Cuban experiment, if successfully carried to an economic breakthrough, should point the way for other Latin American countries. All the same his conversations with the odd disenchanted worker or intellectual, whom one meets occasionally in Cuba and whom Barry Reckord has clearly gone to some trouble to seek out, do not ring true. I would like to know how fluent is his Spanish. The conversations imply absolute fluency unless he has only interviewed people who speak English or unless he has used an interpreter. It does not say in the book or on the dust jacket that Barry Reckord speaks any Spanish.

Compared with other works on Cuba, this book is superficial; nonetheless it is well worth reading for its clear and readable explanations of several aspects of the Cuban experience which tend to baffle the ordinary reader. As for eating, Cubans are renowned for their big appetites. I have never seen a hungry person in Cuba.

FRANK MULVILLE

The Discarded People

Cosmas Desmond

Penguin Books, 264 pp., 40p

HERE IS an impeccably, relentlessly factual account of precisely what 'separate development' and 'Bantu homelands' mean in South Africa; or as Lord Caradon puts it in the preface: 'An account of callous contempt for human suffering, the ugliness of systematic cruelty, and the self-righteousness of the oppressor.' Since Fr Desmond discovered, in the area where he was priest-in-charge, what 'black spot' removals do to the lives of Africans officially labelled 'surplus', 'non-productive' or 'redundant people' he has spent two years and travelled to the remotest corners of South Africa in a lonely and brave investigation of the conditions in which these people have been dumped—are still being dumped. A million already. More millions to come. 'The experience,' he says, 'remains in my head as a nightmare so powerful that it still penetrates the full light of day.'

This record of the resulting poverty, disease, starvation, and dreadful apathy and fear, is shot through with the strength and generosity of the human spirit: the way people everywhere accepted and trusted him; the spirit and dignity of men in one area, the courage in another; and the very old and destitute lady who pressed dry sticks of sugar-cane on him—all she had to show appreciation of his visit. In a world full of disasters,

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South Africa retains an outrageous uniqueness. British people should read this book because, as Nadine Gordimer asks in her foreword, how can we open our hearts to the results of apartheid, while closing our minds to the profits from exploitation, especially of underpaid labour?

Fr Desmond records that his book, when published in South Africa, 'made no impact on the men in power. There has been no halt and no amelioration in the removals.' No. Typically, the only impact was the banning and house arrest of Fr Desmond.

MARY BENSON

Soviet Democracy and Bourgeois Sovietology

M. Perfilyev

Progress Publishers (Central Books)

206 pp., 30p

IT IS A TRAGEDY that in the year 1971 a writer on Soviet democracy can pretend that the Stalin period was of almost no significance. Most of this book, with its ample quotations from Marx, Lenin and the Soviet Constitution (under which Stalin functioned), could have been published in the 1930s. Only names of contemporary 'Sovietologists' and some statistics and minor references bring it up to date.

Consider civil liberties: 'It is common knowledge that state coercion in Soviet society is not practised in general, but only in so far as is necessary to protect socialist ownership, safeguard public order and maintain state and labour discipline' (p.91). Under these three 'onlies', what may not be subject to state coercion?

Again, the whole Stalin phenomenon, an emanation of the Soviet system, is but touched upon, and that confusingly: 'The ideology of the cult of the leader is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism' (p.173). It 'finds its basis in a system where class antagonism exists, where the masses are exploited and stripped of their rights' (p.175). Despite this, we are told that while 'violations of socialist and inner-party democracy did occur . . . they can only be regarded as incidental, chance occurrences' (p.179). Can we really expect this to carry weight with the workers of the West?

And as to the West itself, while bourgeois democracy is effectively debunked, we have the sort of overstatement that characterised the 1930s, even though it flatly contradicts present international communist thinking: thus the reader is told that 'the bourgeois electoral system always guarantees the representatives of capital a majority in parliament' (p.37). If this is true, then we should scrap *The British Road.*

Dogmatic assertions, based on quotations from Lenin and the Soviet Constitution, do not *prove* anything to the contemporary Western reader. We have had enough bitter experience since the death of Stalin to know that it is not paper quotations but actual practice that is important. Nowhere does Perfilyev face up to the 'Sovietologist' allegation that if (a) democratic centralism is practised, and (b) the leading role in every Soviet organisation is held by the Party, then, in effect, everything is indirectly controlled by the leadership of the Party.

There is a very strong argument to be made out that this is highly preferable to control at the top by monopoly capital—but this basic fact has first to be fully recognised and only then can the existing democratic phenomena of a new type which do exist in the USSR be treated convincingly.

PAT SLOAN

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Diplomacy of Aggression

V. Issraeljan and L. Kutakov
Progress Publishers (Central Books), 440 pp., £1.25

THIS HISTORY of the diplomacy of aggression pursued by nazi Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan on the eve of and during the second world war—and, incidentally, of the intermittent collusion with them of Britain and the US, even to their own despite—is extremely instructive. It complements usefully Gabriel Kolko's book *The Politics of War*, published in 1969, which covered only the period 1943-45, and together with which it gives timely warning against comparable machinations of the present time by the same world-wide forces of monopoly capitalism and imperialism under the same old banner of anti-communism, which means, in the world context, anti-Sovietism. It is also a warning to those responsible for such machinations that their adventurism is even more certainly doomed to failure because of the radical changes which the world has undergone since 1945.

Its value as a work of reference would be greater if it had an index, but is nevertheless very great. It provides a particularly useful background for the understanding of Western policy in the Balkans at the present time, and thus, indirectly, for the understanding of Western policy in the whole of central and eastern Europe and also in other parts of the world, such as the Middle East and south-east Asia. Misplaced sympathy with professed champions of freedom and democracy in the liberated countries of eastern Europe would be less prevalent than it has unfortunately become in this country, if more were generally known about the shameful intrigues between just such hypocrites and their reactionary supporters in this country, France and the US throughout, as especially during the final stages of, the second world war, to save themselves and the system which they represented from the nemesis brought on them by their criminal policies.

We all know what happened in Greece, because the USSR was not in a position at that time to prevent it, and we are all disgusted with the sequels to it at the present time. We would do well to appreciate that if Churchill and Co had had their way things would be just as bad in Romania Bulgaria and Hungary, to quote only countries covered by this history book. It was only because the Soviet army drove forward so fast, and because the peoples of those countries recognised it as a force which would liberate them from rulers and from a system which they loathed, that British and US forces did not rush in, as planned, to occupy them and to 'save them from Communism'—and for capitalism.

EDGAR P. YOUNG

Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century

Eric R. Wolf
Faber & Faber, 328 pp., £3

THIS BOOK examines six cases of peasant involvement in the revolutions of Mexico, Russia, China, Vietnam, Algeria and Cuba. Its strength is a discussion less of the strategy and tactics of successful revolutions than of the sociology of the peasantry—in terms refreshingly free of over-simplified formulae—in an attempt to understand the processes in peasant life which contribute to upheaval and which turn peasant rebellion into revolution. For in this age when society has been dislocated by the spread of the capitalist market, Wolf argues, peasant rebellion can no longer be seen as a simple response to a local problem, but as an agent of forces larger than the peasant himself.

R.F.

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LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

When we announced last month that we could safely leave the Washington Conference to comment on itself, we calculated on a certainty in which there was no pretence of risk. But we did not calculate on the dramatic speed with which the inevitable would happen. It took 14 years for the mummy of the Hague Conference to be finally relegated to the museum of history. It took three years from the time when the name of President Wilson was on the lips of men like the name of a new Christ, to the present day, when his pathetic figure survives for the pity and the oblivion of the World. But it has not taken as many weeks for the bubble of the Washington Conference to burst, and for the very journals and statesmen who were painting it in colours which would have made the millennium look indecent to be now already uttering the words of failure and disillusion. Nor has the final evidence of failure been wanting. Already the hopes of the credulous are fixed on a second Conference which will repair the omissions of the first. Satire could not devise a more effective summing up of the eternal story.

(From 'Notes of the Month' by R.P.D., *Labour Monthly*, December 1921)

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Auguste Blanqui and the Art of Revolution, Samuel Bernstein. Lawrence & Wishart, 364 pp., £4.

The Socialist Register 1971, edited by Ralph Miliband and John Saville. Merlin, 318 pp., £1.

Marx and Keynes: the Limits of a Mixed Economy, Paul Mattick. Merlin, 364 pp., £2.50.

Young People and Society, Ted Tapper. Faber, 176 pp., £2.75.

The Riddle of Erskine Childers, Michael McInerney. Mercier Press, 88 pp., 70p.

Scientific Knowledge and its Social Problems, J. R. Ravetz. Clarendon Press, 450 pp., £5.

Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society, Bertell Ollman. Cambridge University Press, 326 pp., £4.

Strikes: a Documentary History, R. and E. Frow and Michael Katanka. Charles Knight, 228 pp., £2.80.

Books for Children: the Homelands of Immigrants in Britain, edited by Janet Hill. Institute of Race Relations, 86 pp., £1.

The Weir Group, W. J. Reader. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 238 pp., £3.

The Luddites and Other Essays, edited by Lionel M. Munby. Michael Katanka, 282 pp., £3.50.

Social Democracy, John Vaizey. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 224 pp., £2.50.

The Economics of Europe, edited by John Pinder. Charles Knight, 222 pp., £3.

The Unholy Hymnal, compiled by Albert E. Kahn. Wolfe, 160 pp., 75p.

The Young Communist International and its Origins, Victor Privalov. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 238 pp., 45p.

The Little Humpbacked Horse, P. Yershov. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 104 pp., 60p.

The African Worker in South Africa, Robert Birley. Leeds University Press, 30 pp., 18p.

UCS—the Fight for the Right to Work, Alex Murray. Communist Party, 20 pp., 7p.

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TRY OUR NEW COVER

THIS Golden Jubilee year 1971 has shown what can be done by way of increasing the donations to our Fund; and this in spite of the difficulty faced by our journal during the time of the postal stoppage, when the Government's all-out attack on the postmen meant we were unable to hear from our readers.

Our monthly totals show that *LM*'s donors and collectors have made it an average of £84 per month, the low figure of £11 being recorded in April, when the effects of the stoppage really caught up with us. Contributors certainly did everything possible to make it up by giving us May and June figures over the £100 target, and they then managed to maintain the Fund at a high level to give us an overall better result than ever before. Our target is still £100 per month. And we still need another £16 a month to reach it.

Readers will be glad to hear that Reg Turner, whose work as a designer is so widely known and appreciated, has been putting in some hours of work to very good effect in recent weeks, as a result of which we shall have a new cover design starting from January 1972. This will catch the eyes of new readers wherever the journal is displayed. We hope too, that regular readers will make it an opportunity to introduce *LM* to others in the labour movement.

Nicola Seyd

£73.12

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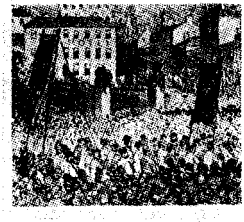

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